

Message Text

SECRET

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42

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00

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FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2757

S E C R E T SALT TWO GENEVA 326

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SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJ: PROBABLE OPERATIONAL SS-9 LAUNCHERS AT TYURATAM
(SALT TWO 764)

REF: (A) SALT TWO-746, (B) SALT TWO-749, (C) SALT TWO-744.,
(D) STATE 197860, (E) SALT TWO-740

1. US, IN IMPLEMENTING INSTRUCTIONS (REF D) RE NEW ARTICLE VII,
STATED (REF E) "THAT ALL OPERATIONAL LAUNCHERS, WHEREVER
LOCATED, SHOULD BE SUBJECT TO THE AGGREGATE LIMITATIONS OF
THE NEW AGREEMENT". BY USING THE TERM "WHEREVER LOCATED"
THE US INDIRECTLY OPENED THE QUESTION OF INCLUDING WITHIN THE
2400 AGGREGATE THE 18 SS-9 LAUNCHERS AT TYURATAM IF THEY
ARE IN FACT OPERATIONAL.

2. SOVIET RESPONSE (REFS A, B, AND C) RANGED FROM CAREFUL
PROBING BY SHUCHUKIN AS TO WHETHER THE US INTENDED TO COUNT
ANY OF THE LAUNCHERS AT TEST SITES UNDER THE AGGREGATE LIM-
ITATIONS TO CATEGORICAL STATEMENT BY SMOLIN THAT "HE COULD NOT
UNDERSTAND THE IDEA OF 'WHEREVER LOCATED' AS APPLIED TO OPERA-
TIONAL ICBM LAUNCHERS...ARTICLE VII.2(B), WHICH WAS A CARRYOVER
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FROM THE INTERIM AGREEMENT, ABSOLUTELY PROHIBITED THE LOCATION

OF OPERATIONAL LAUNCHERS AT TEST RANGES."

3. HAVING RAISED ISSUE, IT SEEMS DESIRABLE BOTH FROM STANDPOINT OF FACILITATING NEGOTIATIONS HERE BY CLARIFYING ISSUES FOR SOVIETS, AS WELL AS ESTABLISHING A RECORD WHICH WILL BE OF UTILITY WITH RESPECT TO THE NUMBERS OF SOVIET STRATEGIC DELIVERY VEHICLES TO BE CHARGED TO THE 2400 AGGREGATE LIMITATION WHEN IT COMES INTO EFFECT, TO BE MORE SPECIFIC THAN WE HAVE HERETOFORE. THEREFORE DELEGATION SUGGESTS THAT CONSIDERATION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO MAKING STATEMENT TO SOVIETS ALONG FOLLOWING LINES: "WE HAVE USED THE PHRASE 'WHEREVER LOCATED' BECAUSE, BASED UPON NTM THE US HAS CONCLUDED THAT EIGHTEEN OF THE ICBM LAUNCHERS AT THE TYURATAM TEST RANGE ARE PART OF THE SOVIET OPERATIONAL FORCE. IT IS OUR VIEW THAT THESE, AND ANY OTHER LAUNCHERS WHICH ARE PART OF THE OPERATIONAL FORCE, WOULD BE SUBJECT TO THE 2400 AGGREGATE LIMITATIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT. JOHNSON

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NNN

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